

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 173091
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DRAFTED BY AF:SLOW:ML
APPROVED BY AF:RMMOOSE
S/S SGOLDSMITH

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 173091

NODIS

E.O. 11652:XGDS-1

TAGS: RH, UK, US

SUBJECT: RHODESIA SETTLEMENT: PLAN OF ACTION

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF US-UK RHODESIA SETTLEMENT PLAN OF ACTION WHICH WAS REVISED ON THE BASIS OF VANCE-OWEN MEETING SUNDAY MORNING JULY 24. REQUEST EMBASSY PASS TO JOHNNIE GRAHAM AND GET FCO COMMENTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. ALSO REQUEST EMBASSY OBTAIN FROM GRAHAM SOONEST HIS TRAVEL PLANS FOR RETURN TO WASHINGTON FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS. YOU MIGHT NOTE THAT LOW IS REMAINING IN WASHINGTON TO TAKE PART.

QUOTE UK/US PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA

PLAN OF ACTION

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1. AUGUST 4-5, WASHINGTON: PRESIDENT CARTER OUTLINES PROPOSAL TO NYERERE AND ASKS HIS VIEWS. ELEMENTS OF PRESENTATION WOULD BE EXPLANATION OF:

--US/UK FIRM INTENTION TO PROPOSE A SETTLEMENT AT THE UN WHICH IS SOUND AND FAIR

--BASIC PROPOSAL: INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, ZIMBABWE
DEVELOPMENT FUND, CARETAKER GOVERNMENT TO SUPERVISE
ELECTION AND TURN OVER TO INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT WITHIN
THREE TO SIX MONTHS

--PREDICATION OF PROPOSAL ON SMITH'S DEPARTURE AND PLAN
FOR EARLY DISCUSSION WITH SOUTH AFRICANS TO THIS END

--NEW ELEMENTS

--- UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WORKING IN COOPERATION
WITH ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL

--- UN FORCE TO ASSIST WITH MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER

--- US/UK WILLINGNESS TO APPLY STRONG PRESSURE TO OBTAIN
SMITH'S DEPARTURE.

--INABILITY TO PREVENT SMITH FROM PURSUING HIS OWN
STRATEGY IN THE EVENT OF NON-ACCEPTANCE BY NATIONALISTS

--REQUEST THAT NYERERE ASK FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS TO INVITE
FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO DISCUSS
PLAN WITH THEM AT CITY OF THEIR CHOICE IN AFRICA.

2. AUGUST 4: AMBASSADOR IN LUSAKA DELIVER LETTER FROM
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PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA

--DESCRIBING PLAN IN BRIEF AND GENERAL OUTLINE

--BUT OMITTING REQUEST FOR JOINT MEETING WITH FRONTLINE
PRESIDENTS

NOTE: THERE IS SOME CONCERN FELT THAT IT MIGHT BE A
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LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER DELIVERED AT THE SAME TIME
AS OTHERS ARE BEING INFORMED - SEE PARA 4 BELOW. PLEASE
ADVISE BRITISH REACTION.

3. AUGUST 12: SECRETARIES OWEN AND VANCE IN LONDON INFORM

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--OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL, STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF DEPARTURE
OF SMITH

--IRREVERSIBILITY OF PLAN

--PLAN OF ACTION

--IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

4. AUGUST 12: US/UK AMBASSADORS IN MAPUTO, DAR, GABORONE,
PRETORIA (FOR HAWKINS), NEW YORK OR LISBON (FOR ANGOLA),
LUSAKA AND LAGOS INFORM HOST CHIEFS OF STATE OF
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--PROPOSAL IN BRIEF AND GENERAL FORM

--OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH SOUND AND FAIR PLAN
AND OUR BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL PARTIES
TO ACCEPT AND COOPERATE WITH IT

--PLAN OF TRAVEL BY FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR
YOUNG TO AFRICA

--OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS IRRELEVANCE OF RHODESIAN ELECTION

5. AUGUST 12, WASHINGTON: NKOMO VISITS WASHINGTON.
ACTING SECRETARY EXPLAINS:

--BRIEF AND GENERAL OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

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6. US/UK AMBASSADORS--PARIS, BONN AND OTTAWA (AS SECURITY
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--GENERAL OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

--NEXT STEPS

--IMPORTANCE OF HOST GOVERNMENT CONVEYING ITS SUPPORT
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7. AUGUST 13 OR 14, WASHINGTON AND LONDON: PLAN RELEASED TO PUBLIC AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S TRIP TO AFRICA ANNOUNCED.

8. AUGUST 14, LONDON: UK DISCUSSES PLAN WITH NYERERE DURING HIS STOPOVER THERE.

9. (IF NECESSARY) AUGUST 17-18, PRETORIA: FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND US REP DISCUSS PLAN WITH VORSTER, INCLUDING

--SUBSTANCE OF PROPOSAL

--NEXT STEPS IN PROCESS OF GOING TO FRONTLINE NATIONALISTS, SMITH AND UN

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10. AUGUST 19-20, FRONTLINE CAPITAL: FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG MEET WITH

A. FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS (ASSUMING THEY ARE WILLING. OTHERWISE INDIVIDUAL STOPS MUST BE MADE.) PURPOSE WOULD BE TO REVIEW

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B. PATRIOTIC FRONT TO

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--EXPLAIN OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH SOUND AND FAIR PLAN AND OUR BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL

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C. REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER NATIONALIST GROUPS WHO MAY BE THERE. (SAME POINTS AS B ABOVE.)

11. AUGUST 21: FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN TRAVELS TO SALISBURY TO EXPLAIN TO

A. RHODESIANS

--DETAILS OF PROPOSAL

--PLAN OF ACTION

--IRREVERSIBILITY OF PROCESS

B. OTHER NATIONALISTS

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12. AUGUST 22: FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN JOINS AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN LAGOS AT ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE FOR
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PRESENTATION TO NIGERIANS.

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UNQUOTE.

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 173091

NODIS

FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 173091 SENT LONDON 24 JULY.

QUOTE: S E C R E T STATE 173091

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INFO AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 173091

NODIS

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ONLY FROM BRIZILL

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 173091 ACTIN LONDON JULY 24.

QUOTE E C R E T STATE 173091

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E.O. 11652:XGDS-1

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S E C R E T STATE 173091

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADORS LEONARD AND MCHENRY

FOL RPT STATE 173091 ACTION SYDNEY INFO WELLINGTON 25 JUL 77
QUOTE

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--PREDICATION OF PROPOSAL ON SMITH'S DEPARTURE AND PLAN FOR EARLY DISCUSSION WITH SOUTH AFRICANS TO THIS END

--NEW ELEMENTS

--- UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WORKING IN COOPERATION
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WITH ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL

--- UN FORCE TO ASSIST WITH MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER

--- US/UK WILLINGNESS TO APPLY STRONG PRESSURE TO OBTAIN SMITH'S DEPARTURE.

-INABILITY TO PREVENT SMITH FROM PURSUING HIS OWN
STRATEGY IN THE EVENT OF NON-ACCEPTANCE BY NATIONALISTS

--REQUEST THAT NYERERE ASK FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS TO INVITE
FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO DISCUSS
PLAN WITH THEM AT CITY OF THEIR CHOICE IN AFRICA.

2. AUGUST 4: AMBASSADOR IN LUSAKA DELIVER LETTER FROM
PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA

--DESCRIBING PLAN IN BRIEF AND GENERAL OUTLINE

--BUT OMITTING REQUEST FOR JOINT MEETING WITH FRONTLINE
PRESIDENTS

NOTE: THERE IS SOME CONCERN FELT THAT IT MIGHT BE A
MISTAKE TO SINGLE OUT KAINDA BEFORE THE OTHER FRONTLINE
PRESIDENTS, RHODESIANS, SOUTH AFRICANS AND NATIONALISTS,
TO BE INFORMED AT THE SAME TIME AS NYERERE. IT IS
PERFECTLY NATURAL THAT NYERERE SHOULD BE INFORMED IN
CONNECTION WITH HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON. KAUNDA WOULD
UNDERSTAND THIS. HE HIMSELF MAKES A POINT OF INSISTING
THAT MACHEL (AND NETO) BE TREATED THE SAME AS HE. WHILE
HE HAS HONORED CONFIDENCES IN THE PAST, WE BELIEVE THE NEED
TO GIVE HIM PARTICULAR ATTENTION COULD BE COVERED BY A
LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER DELIVERED AT THE SAME TIME
AS OTHERS ARE BEING INFORMED - SEE PARA 4 BELOW. PLEASE
ADVISE BRITISH REACTION.

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3. AUGUST 12: SECRETARIES OWEN AND VANCE IN LONDON INFORM
BOTH OF

--OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL, STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF DEPARTURE
OF SMITH

--IRREVERSIBILITY OF PLAN

--PLAN OF ACTION

--IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

4. AUGUST 12: US/UK AMBASSADORS IN MAPUTO, DAR, GABORONE,
PRETORIA (FOR HAWKINS), NEW YORK OR LISBON (FOR ANGOLA),
LUSAKA AND LAGOS INFORM HOST CHIEFS OF STATES

--PROPOSAL IN BRIEF AND GENERAL FORM

--OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH SND AND FAIR PLAN
AND OUR BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL PARTIES
TO ACCEPT AND COOPERATE WITH IT

--PLAN OF TRAVEL BY FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR
YOUNG TO AFRICA

--OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS IRRELEVANCE OF RHODESIAN ELECTION

5. AUGUST 12, WASHINGTON: NKOMO VISITS WASHINGTON.
ACTING SECRETARY EXPLAINS:

--BRIF AND GENERAL OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

--BRIEF AND GENERAL OUTLINE OF PLAN OF ACTION
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--OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH SOUND AND FAIR PLAN
AND OUR BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL PARTIES
TO ACCEPT AND COOPERATE WITH IT.

6. US/UK AMBASSADORS-PARIS, BONN AND OTTAWA (AS SECURITY
COUNCIL MEMBERS) DISCUSS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS

--GENERAL OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

--NEXT STEPS

--IMPORTANCE OF HOST GOVERNMENT CONVEYING ITS SUPPORT
TO SAG AND RHODESIANS THROUGH PRETORIA

7. AUGUST 13 OR 14, WASHINGTON AND LONDON: PLAN
RELEASED TO PUBLIC AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND
AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S TRIP TO AFRICA ANNOUNCED.

8. AUGUST 14, LONDON: UK DISCUSSES PLAN WITH NYERERE
DURING HIS STOPOVER THERE.

9. (IF NECESSARY) AUGUST 17-18, PRETORIA: FOREIGN
SECRETARY OWEN AND US REP DISCUSS PLAN WITH VORSTER,
INCLUDING

--SUBSTANCE OF PROPOSAL

--NEXT STEPS IN PROCESS OF GOING TO FRONTLINE NATIONALISTS,
SMITH AND UN

--IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRIK

10. AUGUST 19-20, FRONTLINE CAPITAL: FOREIGN SECRETARY
OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG MEET WITH

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A. FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS (ASSUMING THEY ARE WILLING.
OTHERWISE INDIVIDUAL STOPS MUST BE MADE.) PURPOSE WOULD
BE TO REVIEW

--OUTLINE PROPOSAL

--NEXT STEPS

--IMPORTANCE OF FRONTLINE SUPPORT OF PLAN WITH NATIONALISTS

--OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH SOUND AND FAIR PLAN
AND OUR BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL PARTIES
TO ACCEPT AND COOPERATE WITH IT

B. PATRIOTIC FRONT TO

--OUTLINE PROPOSAL

--PLAN OF ACTION

--EXPLAIN OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH SOUND AND FAIR
PLAN AND OUR BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL
PARTIES TO ACCEPT AND COOPERATE WITH IT

C. REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER NATIONALIST GROUPS WHO MAY BE
THERE. (SAME POINTS AS B ABOVE.)

11. AUGUST 21: FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN TRAVELS TO
SALISBURY TO EXPLAIN TO

A. RHODESIANS

--DETAILS OF PROPOSAL

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--PLAN OF ACTION

--IRREVERSIBILITY OF PROCESS

B. OTHER NATIONALISTS

--DETAILS OF PROPOSAL

--PLAN OF ACTION

--IRREVERSIBILITY OF PROCESS

12. AUGUST 22: FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN JOINS AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN LAGOS AT ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE FOR PRESENTATION TO NIGERIANS.

13. PRESENTATION OF PROPOSAL TO UN (FIRST WEEK IN SEPTEMBER?).

NOTE: THERE IS SOME SENTIMENT THAT THE NIGERIANS SHOULD BE INVITED TO THE MEETING WITH FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS OR, AT MINIMUM, THAT THEY SHOULD BE GIVEN MORE SPECIAL TREATMENT THAN ALREADY ENVISAGED BY INFORMING THEM OF THE PLAN ON AUGUST 12 (NO. 4 ABOVE) AND THROUGH THE VISIT TO LAGOS BY FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG AUGUST 22 (NO. 12 ABOVE). PLEASE ADVISE BRITISH REACTION. UNQUOTE.

VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

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Review Markings:
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